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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2611th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 2 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Vernon A. WALTERS (United States of America).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2611)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 1 October 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17509)

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to the adoption of the agenda, speaking as the representative of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, I should like to express my deep condolences to the representatives of the Soviet Union here for the brutal, vicious murder of Soviet citizens in Beirut.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 1 October 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17509)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2610th meeting, I invite the representatives of Tunisia and Israel to take a place at the Council table; I invite the observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Turkey to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Caïd Essebsi (Tunisia) and Mr. Netanyahu (Israel) took places at the Council table; Mr. Qaddoumi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi (Algeria), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahariya) and Mr. Halefoğlu (Turkey) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Cuba, Greece, Lesotho, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Malmierca Peoli (Cuba), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Mr. Ould Boye (Mauritania), Mr. Alaoui (Morocco), Mr. Yaqub Khan (Pakistan), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. Al-Sharaa (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Basendwah (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 2 October 1985 from the representative of Kuwait [*S/17515*], which reads as follows:

> "In my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of October, I have the honour to request that, during the Council's discussion of the item presently on its agenda, the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Adnan Omran, Under-Secretary-General for Political and International Affairs of the League of Arab States."

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Omran.

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/17514, which contains the text of a letter dated 2 October 1985 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Council.

6. Mr. de KÉMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, and express to you my best wishes for the success of your presidency. We are convinced that your professional and human qualifications will ensure that the Council will be guided objectively and effectively this month.

7. I should also like to express, very briefly, to Sir John Thomson our felicitations on the very masterly way in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

8. At the request of the Government of the Republic of Tunisia, the Council is meeting today to consider the situation resulting from the attack carried out on 1 October by the Israeli air force against the headquarters of the PLO in a suburb of Tunis. The Council, which already has before it the problem of the Middle East, including the question of Palestine, is therefore once again being called upon to take a stand on a particularly serious event which has caused the loss of many lives.

9. Coming from a Member State under an obligation to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations—and I would mention only the commitment to refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity of any State—such an operation constitutes an inadmissible violation of the rules of international law.

10. The French Government, for its part, firmly condemns the military operation carried out by the Israeli forces on the territory of a sovereign and peaceful State that is a friend of France. My Government believes it more than ever necessary to denounce the chain of violence which, in the absence of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, has so often struck down innocent victims under one pretext or another.

11. I should like to express to the Council the concern of the French Government at the disastrous consequences this military action will inevitably have on the efforts now under way to bring about a resumption of the peace process. It may also contribute to increasing tensions in a region that is already in many respects severely tried.

12. The Council must take a clear stand on the issue brought before it by the Tunisian Government. The Council's responsibility is at stake, and it cannot evade that responsibility without damage to its authority.

13. France, which has on many occasions affirmed its commitment to the security of Israel and its people, does not believe that the use of force enhances that security. It urgently appeals to all the parties to the conflict to replace the language of violence and reprisals with a spirit of dialogue which alone can make possible an overall settlement.

14. France wishes to express to the Tunisian Government, which has tirelessly sought a path towards a just peace, its condolences on the mourning that has fallen upon its population and its unswerving support. We stand with Tunisia in its present trial and solemnly reaffirm our commitment to respect for the territorial integrity and security of Tunisia.

15. In this connection, I have just received excerpts from a statement made by the Prime Minister of France, Mr. Laurent Fabius, in the National Assembly this afternoon in Paris. If I may, I should like to quote one or two passages from that statement:

> "Nothing can excuse the act of force against Tunisia, a sovereign country, a friendly country, a peaceful and tolerant country, which has always endeavoured to make the language of reason heard in international affairs."

The Prime Minister in his statement also assured President Bourguiba and the Government and the people of Tunisia of the sympathy and sorrow felt by France.

16. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): I should like to begin by saying how pleased we are to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council for the month of October. With your vast diplomatic experience, we are confident that the affairs of the Council are in the best hands. I should also like on this occasion to express my delegation's admiration for the way in which the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom and Sir John Thomson conducted the Council's work last month.

17. In a statement made yesterday [*S/17520*], Denmark, together with the other members of the European Community, has vigorously condemned the bombing by the Israeli air force of the headquarters of the PLO in Tunis. That action violates the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia in contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law. It also represents a further stage in the continuing violence and counter-violence in the Middle East, against which my Government has repeatedly warned.

18. While at the same time condemning acts of terrorism committed against Israeli citizens, Denmark does not believe that they justify such action.

19. It is our fervent hope that this new escalation of violence will not compromise efforts being made to achieve a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

20. Mr. HUANG Jiahua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): I wish to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. I am convinced that with your rich experience in diplomacy you will certainly prove equal to this important office.

21. I wish also to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to your predecessors Sir Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, and Sir John Thomson for their outstanding work in presiding over the Council last month.

22. Just as we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and many leaders in their statements in the general debate in the General Assembly are voicing support for the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and demanding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East question, the Israeli authorities have brazenly dispatched their air force, on 1 October, and wantonly bombed the capital of Tunisia, a peace-loving country,

thus causing grave losses of life and property to the Tunisian people.

23. Therefore, the People's Republic of China has today issued a statement solemnly pointing out that

> "This is a serious crime committed by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. It constitutes a wanton encroachment upon the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Tunisia and a gross violation of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.
>
> "The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn this most savage act of aggression on the part of the Israeli authorities and reaffirm that China will as always resolutely support the just struggles of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people until the complete realization of their lofty national goal of recovering their occupied territories and regaining their national rights."

24. The Chinese delegation is of the view that the Israeli authorities should assume full responsibility for their latest act of aggression and for all its consequences. The Tunisian Government demands that the Council condemn Israel and see to it that Israel compensates for all the losses inflicted on Tunisia and pledges not to commit further similar crimes. In our view, these demands are all reasonable, and the Council should see that they are met.

25. We should like to take this opportunity to express our deep sympathy and firm solidarity with the Tunisian Government and people. The latest act of aggression committed by Israel shows once again that its policy of aggression and expansion against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples is the main cause of the prolonged turbulence in the Middle East. Therefore, in order really to solve the Middle East question it is imperative that the Israeli authorities be compelled to give up that policy.

26. The international community, and above all, the Security Council, should deal with this question in all seriousness and with a greater sense of urgency and responsibility and should adopt the necessary strong measures, pursuant to the Charter, to put an end to Israeli aggression and bring about peace in the region.

27. Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We congratulate you cordially, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We wish to say how greatly we appreciate the exemplary manner in which the representatives of the United Kingdom exercised the presidency last month.

28. My delegation cannot fail to express its vigorous rejection of this act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State and against peace in the region to which it belongs.

29. Although we are, unfortunately, accustomed to the increasing use of violence in the Middle East, the air raid of the Israeli Government against the capital of Tunisia, by virtue of its timing, the characteristics of the attack and its inevitable political consequences, takes on special and ominous gravity.

30. International public opinion, severely jolted by this disproportionate escalation, is wondering what purpose is being pursued by such acts. It could not be imagined that the aim is to prejudice the precarious progress being made towards just and lasting peace in the region, because in the end, that would be suicidal. Is it then a new and disproportionate application of the principle of an eye for an eye, carried out with arrogant disregard for others? If so, it seems to us there are too many eyes; that on this path of collective blindness, we shall be increasingly incapable of seeing the right way to arrive at peace and justice.

31. The international community cannot take part in this primitive settling of accounts based on the claim of a unilateral right to vengeance. We must stop this escalation of violence, whatever its source, and take this occasion to condemn this attack. My delegation will support the measures adopted by the Council in that regard.

32. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Mr. Vahit Halefoğlu. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

33. Mr. HALEFOĞLU (Turkey): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for affording me the opportunity to address the Council on the item under consideration. We regard it as our duty to speak on this grave development since we have a direct stake in the peace and stability of the Middle East and consider that acts of military aggression violate basic norms of international conduct and open new wounds in the fabric of international relations.

34. Before going into the matter at hand, may I offer you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I should also like to pay a tribute to Sir Geoffrey Howe and Sir John Thomson, who conducted the work of the Council last month.

35. It is not possible for my Government to tolerate the Israeli military action against Tunisia. We strongly condemn that action, which violates Tunisian sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is indeed shocking and disturbing to see that Israel, after persistent and repeated violation of the sovereignty of its neighbours in the Middle East, has now chosen to carry similar actions to North Africa, more than halfway across the Mediterranean.

36. We have publicly stated that this use of force infringes the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. It cannot be justified as a reprisal raid.

37. The Israeli military action must inevitably be assessed in the light of a long list of previous acts by Israel which have involved the frequent and arrogant use of force, such as the aggression against Lebanon, the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, policies of oppression in the occupied Arab territories and the air raid against the Iraqi nuclear power plant in 1981. The latest Israeli action is in total contradiction of the hopes and efforts for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Israel seems to rely exclusively on the use of force and to be totally uninterested in promoting conditions conducive to dialogue and conciliation.

38. We have been watching closely the recent efforts aimed at initiating a process of negotiation in the Middle East. We have regarded the Jordanian-PLO initiative as an opportunity which should not be wasted. The difficulties on the way to a peaceful settlement cannot be minimized, but obviously they can never be surmounted if steps are not taken to overcome them. That is what we believe should have been done by Israel. Actions which fan the cycle of violence will further hamper the search for a peaceful solution and inevitably distract attention from this goal.

39. Nothing can justify the ruthless action taken against Tunisia, a peace-loving country with which Turkey has ties of valued friendship. The Israeli attack was carried out indiscriminately. We offer our Tunisian and Palestinian brothers our deep sympathy for the human and material losses they have suffered.

40. Turkey, having suffered bitterly from acts of violence and assassination both at home and abroad, is a staunch advocate of effective multilateral action against international terrorism, and we have been outspoken in this respect. However, we have always rejected the concept of the State itself indulging in terrorism—in particular, actions which are contrary to international law and liable to kill or harm innocent people. We certainly do not condone the terrorist attack on three Israelis in Larnaca; but the perpetrators of that odious crime have been arrested. On the other hand, the PLO has denied responsibility for this attack. Israel would have been quite justified in demanding that the criminals in South Cyprus should be adequately punished. But to attack a country like Tunisia, whose moderate and constructive policies have won the respect of the whole world, is outrageous. Israel also manifests a deep contradiction. On the one hand, it refuses to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people; on the other hand, it holds the PLO responsible for acts that any Palestinian commits.

41. If Israel can get away with its latest unwarranted action, that will be tantamount to tacit approval of the use of force each time the Government of Israel considers that opportune. We hope, therefore, that the Council will not fail to condemn unequivocally the aggression of Israel against Tunisia and to stand firm against any repetition of such acts.

42. Mr. KASEMSARN (Thailand): I should like at the outset to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. It is more than a pleasure for us to see you, as the representative of the United States, a friendly country which has very close and long-standing ties with Thailand, presiding over this meeting. I am convinced that your wide experience, political wisdom and proven diplomatic skill will guide the Council's proceedings to fruitful and constructive results.

43. I should like also to congratulate Sir John Thomson, the representative of the United Kingdom and the President of the Council for the month of September. His effective and skilful diplomacy and his knowledge of the substantive issues of concern to the Council earned our respect and gratitude as he steered our proceedings to a successful conclusion during that busy period.

44. My delegation deeply regrets and deplores the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia, a country friendly to Thailand, by the Israeli air force. We take note of the reasons cited by Israel for launching the air strike—namely, that it was done in retaliation for violent acts against Israeli nationals. It is well known, however, that according to international law the principle of proportionality must be taken into account. While we regret the loss of 15 Israeli lives during the past few weeks, we also regret deeply the loss of over 60 lives in Tunisia—a figure which is evident proof of the lack of proportionality on this matter. In any case, the violation of Tunisia's sovereignty and territorial integrity must be condemned.

45. In this regard, my delegation wishes to express its sincere condolences to the Tunisian Government and people for their grievous losses.

46. While we condemn all acts of violence, particularly in the Middle East—an area which has been ravaged by so many conflicts for so long—we must all stand firm for principles and for the rights of peoples, particularly the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We are deeply sympathetic with them in their plight.

47. In this particular case, and in the interests of international law and order, my delegation demands that Israel desist in the future from the perpetration or the threat of such acts and that Israel pay due compensation for the losses resulting from its aggressive acts.

48. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Let me begin by extending my delegation's warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of October and wishing you every success in the task ahead of you.

49. I should like also to express briefly my delegation's very sincere appreciation to the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Thomson, for his skilful and distinguished discharge of his duties in September, which turned out to be a rather arduous month.

50. We have seen yet another incident in the sad cycle of violence and counter-violence in the Middle East. It is an

incident which, whatever the background may be, cannot be condoned, and we express our sympathy to the Government and people of Tunisia on the violation of their sovereignty and the loss of life that has been occasioned by this unfortunate event.

51. Australia condemns all acts of terrorism and violence, wherever and whenever they take place. On this occasion, Israel has engaged in an act of violence which has resulted in the death of innocent civilians and which is clearly a breach of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

52. Whether or not the PLO has carried out acts of terrorism against Israel is not really the point at issue. The point is that even if we were to accept Israel's version of the events, two wrongs do not make a right. There is also, of course, the question of the strength of the response to the alleged actions that were used to justify Israel's reaction.

53. Australia has always maintained, and still maintains, that Israel has the right to exist in peace within legally recognized borders and free from outside attack. Tunisia, of course, has exactly the same right.

54. It is particularly unfortunate that the raid should have taken place at a time when there had been some encouraging signs of movement towards a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, and in that context my delegation welcomes especially the statement of King Hussein of Jordan in the General Assembly last week.[1] We must ensure that this kind of action by Israel is not permitted to set back the search for peace.

55. Australia condemns Israel's action and calls upon Israel to respect the norms of international law.

56. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Israel, on whom I now call.

57. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident in your wisdom and your abilities, which have been demonstrated in so many other international forums and gatherings.

58. This is also an occasion to congratulate Sir John Thomson on what I think can be called a truly exemplary stewardship of impeccable impartiality in the conduct of the Council's business.

59. Once again the Council is selectively convened to attack a legitimate act of self-defence by Israel. The allegation against us is that we engaged in an aggressive act against another country. Nothing could be a greater perversion of the truth. If anything can be defined as aggression, it is the actions taken against us. If anything can be defined as self-defence, it is the action taken by us. It is a legitimate response to acts of terrorism.

60. What are the facts? For the past year, the PLO headquarters in Tunisia has initiated, planned, organized and launched hundreds of terrorist attacks against Israel, against Israeli targets outside Israel and against Jews everywhere. Those attacks have included several sea-borne assaults aimed explicitly at the mass murder of civilians. Fortunately, they were intercepted by our forces, but I think only the most irresponsible and cynical would consider the planning of such crimes less heinous because they failed. But they did not always fail. In the past year, more than 600 such attacks have killed or severely wounded more than 75 Israeli civilians—schoolchildren, teachers, commuters, shoppers, tourists.

61. There is something common to all those civilian victims. Not only were they obviously innocent noncombatants under any definition, they also had no involvement whatsoever with any military activity, nor were they near any military targets. They were not the incidental and regrettable civilian casualties of military actions which occur in every military action, or in many. They themselves were the intended victims, the designated targets of the PLO, because the aim of the PLO is identical to its methods—murder, deliberate and systematic murder of Israelis and Jews, and ultimately murder of the Jewish State itself.

62. The most recent killings—and I stress merely the most recent—were the savage early-morning slaughter of three defenceless people, a woman and two men, vacationing on a boat at the marina in Larnaca. Like other such "heroic actions", to use PLO language, that one was carried out by the "élite" unit of the PLO, which tells us something, I suppose, about the PLO's ideas of excellence.

63. Sensing that even the tolerance of a cynical world has its limits, the PLO first denied culpability in the murders and then switched to the preposterous allegation that the middle-aged tourists were spies. The butchery at Larnaca was perpetrated by "Force 17", Yasser Arafat's personal bodyguard unit. We have irrefutable evidence, intelligence evidence, which will soon be coming out not only from our sources but from other sources as well. Those are the same people who attempted to carry out the mass murder from the boats we intercepted a few weeks ago, as well as many of the other attacks which I have cited. They are also the very people who occupied the PLO headquarters in Tunisia.

64. There has seldom been a more focused, more limited, more surgical strike aimed at the culprits, and at the culprits alone. Israel's forces took special care to pinpoint the target—three buildings that housed the PLO headquarters. Despite the assertion of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia that they were scattered private houses, the facts are different. I heard the PLO say here today that the targets were "PLO offices" and the Egyptian representative say, correctly, that they were "PLO headquarters". So let us put that one to rest: the target was the headquarters of the PLO, the nerve centre of its world-wide operations, and everybody here knows it. If there were any civilian casualties, they were wholly inadvertent and unintentional, and the result of the deliberate PLO tactic, which, I may add, has been well established in Tripoli, Beirut and else-

where, of planting its bases among civilians. Civilians, let us remember, are the key to the PLO strategy. It kills civilians and it hides behind them.

65. As for the assertion that it was an unprovoked attack on a country not actively at war with Israel, every State has a responsibility to prevent armed attacks from its territory, especially terrorist attacks against civilians. Which country would tolerate repeated attacks against its citizens by terrorists openly headquartered, organized and trained in, and launched from, another country? Distance does not absolve one of responsibility. Uganda, after the Entebbe rescue, offered the feeble and false excuse that it did not know of the terrorists' designs. Lebanon claimed that it was too weak to do anything about them. But Tunisia knew, and it was strong enough to stop them. It knowingly harboured the PLO and allowed it complete freedom of action in planning, training, organizing and launching murderous attacks from its soil. While the PLO's poison has contaminated many countries, the head of the PLO serpent is in Tunisia.

66. Under no circumstances can Israel accept the notion that bases and headquarters of terrorist killers should enjoy immunity anywhere, any time. It was against them that our action was directed, not against their host country. Nevertheless, the host country does bear considerable responsibility.

67. What is that responsibility, and what is its relationship to the question of sovereignty? We cannot be confused or deflected by a misleading definition of sovereignty. Sovereignty cannot be separated from its responsibilities, and chief among these is preventing a sovereign territory from being used as a launching ground for acts of aggression against another country. When a country abdicates that fundamental responsibility, either deliberately or because of neglect, it risks taking upon itself all the consequences of such dereliction of duty.

68. It has been stated often, and I shall state it once more: the interest of a State in exercising protection over its nationals may take precedence over territorial sovereignty. Article 51 of the United Nations Charter says quite clearly:

> "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations."

69. Indeed, scores of Member States, many of them in this chamber today, have often claimed precisely this right to act in self-defence to curb armed attacks from other countries. The only question that may arise is whether other remedies are available. In this case none existed. On the contrary, Tunisia did not show an inkling of a desire or an intention to prevent the PLO from planning and initiating terrorist activities from its soil.

70. I have heard a lot of censure and condemnation today. Perhaps I can ask representatives: Where was the censure of the international community when the PLO launched its sea-borne killers and its murderers throughout the world? Was there a word, or even a whisper, or condemnation, let alone a suggestion of any action against the PLO after the killers had done their grisly deeds at Larnaka? Faced with this stunning indifference from the international community, Israel had to act. And it acted, as is its right and its obligation, to protect its citizens. No other country would act differently.

71. Some here have alleged that our action was aimed against the peace process. What nonsense! Israel remains committed to peace—real peace—with all its neighbours. But what kind of peace have some of the people been talking about here today? They have been talking about a peace that allows PLO gunmen to kill with impunity; a kind of peace where so long as innocent Jewish blood is shed, no one bats an eyelash; a peace where, when we finally rise to defend ourselves against PLO terror, we face a deafening chorus of hypocritical condemnation, sometimes, I might add, from the very victims of that same terror. The kind of peace that some have talked about here is the peace of the grave, with Israel buried and gone. That is not the peace we have in mind.

72. No one can seriously talk about peace with Israel while embracing the PLO. It remains unalterably committed to the destruction of my country and to the unbridled practice and espousal of terrorism. The true obstacle to peace is the PLO, and those who acquiesce in terrorism, those who urge us to submit to it, are not building peace: they are burying it.

73. Our operation against the PLO headquarters, therefore, should be viewed for what it is: one action in our larger continuing battle against the core of regional and international terrorism, the PLO. The PLO has nurtured, and trained, and armed, and financed terror groups on every continent and of every political complexion. The only requirement is that these partners in crime share the PLO's savage impulses. In Larnaka, for example, one of the apprehended killers, a foreign recruit to Force 17, who shot Mrs. Esther Palzur in the back of the head, is a British neo-Nazi. And although the PLO had lost its all-important terrorist empire in Lebanon, it established a new extraterritorial base in Tunisia, from which it sought to continue, presumably at a safe distance, its campaign of global terror.

74. This cannot be. Terrorism unchallenged and unopposed breeds further terrorism, because the success of terrorists in one part of the world encourages terrorists everywhere. Like cancer, terrorism spreads throughout the international body, one cell multiplying into many. By now, I think, everyone here can see how far the disease has spread. Even the sponsors and defenders of terror are not immune. International terrorism, patented, perfected and propagated by the PLO, has become the modern equivalent of the plague. It is not—it never was—merely Israel's problem. It strikes at Korean Ministers; it blows up Indian aircraft; it kidnaps French, and American, and now even Soviet, diplomats; it burns uncontrollably throughout the Middle East; it bombs the streets of Europe; it wreaks

havoc in the capitals of Latin America. It is a disease that must be arrested, and soon, before it engulfs us all.

75. If, finally, on its fortieth anniversary the United Nations were truly committed to acting effectively against international terrorism, it would before all else rid itself of the contaminating presence of the PLO, the arch-terrorists of our time. And if the Security Council were to adhere faithfully to its true purposes, it would convene to find ways and means of combating this major threat to the international order rather than condemning one of the few countries which has acted boldly, and resolutely, and responsibly to defend itself—and, may I add, the entire civilized world—against the scourge of modern terror.

76. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, whom I welcome. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

77. Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I am convinced that your great experience and your knowledge of world affairs will make your presidency a successful one.

78. I wish also to express my appreciation of the most skilful way in which Sir John Thomson discharged his presidential responsibilities last month.

79. Zionism has just struck at Tunisia, thus widening its sphere of aggression from the Arab Mashreq to the Arab Maghreb. Algeria, of course, feels doubly affected: first of all, because our sister country, Tunisia, has been the victim of an attack on its security, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity; and secondly, because the Palestinian people has been hounded to the last lands of sanctuary where its exodus and wandering have forced it to seek refuge.

80. This aggression evokes in my country's national memory the first price paid by Tunisia, through Sakiet Sidi Yusuf—for the cause of Algeria's independence. Tunisia is today paying a second price—for the cause of the national rights of another people, the Palestinian people.

81. I cannot recall those events without feeling strong emotion in respect of a country, Tunisia, whose clear-mindedness and sense of responsibility have characterized and continue to characterize its international relations, and above all, the determination of its actions when what is at stake is no less than the cause of the freedom of peoples, the meeting of their aspirations and full realization of their rights.

82. If Tunisia is attacked, the Maghreb, the Arab nation and Africa as a whole are attacked. But the entire international community also is defied, at a time when it is gathering here to proclaim loud and strong the validity and relevance of the ideals of the United Nations. If there is a breach of those ideals, a nameless outrage to the symbolism of this General Assembly session of peace, it can be seen in what Tunisia has just suffered because of zionism, its logic and its objectives, which it has never concealed.

83. I have said that zionism has broadened its sphere of aggression to the Maghreb. This is an ambition it has always admitted. The action therefore comes as no surprise. If it is a surprise to anyone, it is those whose consciences have been lulled and who have lost their sense of what zionism is and what it has always been. The order of aggressive violence is spreading to cover that vast space which, from the Gulf to the Atlantic, has been designated by the strategists of zionism as the area for the materialization of their ever-present plans of hegemony and conquest.

84. Zionism, therefore, has no other basis, no other logic, than the negation of peace. Algeria has affirmed this, and reaffirms it now with all the more conviction since these new events serve to corroborate what we have always believed.

85. That zionism means a desire for expansion and endless hegemony is a fact. That it represents the genocide of the Palestinian people is another fact. In response, the Arab nation can only close ranks, join forces and rally its strength. There is in this much food for thought for Palestinian resistance, which represents the will of the Palestinian people never to surrender its destiny.

86. What the Arab people is undergoing, what the Palestinian people is experiencing, in daily martyrdom, enjoys a certain indulgence, if not complicity. The Council is the first witness of this.

87. History will remember that those who strove to stifle the hopes of the Palestinian people only nourished its despair; history will remember, furthermore, that those who saw fit to conceal, justify or, worse yet, endorse its acts of aggression wherever they occurred gave comfort and encouragement to Zionism; history will remember, lastly, that the only response to fierce oppression is a fierce and unbending desire to be free. They bear responsibility for the continuing tragedy of the Middle East, just as they bear responsibility for what Tunisia has just suffered.

88. If the crisis in the Middle East and the question of Palestine arose at the time the United Nations was born, that is all the more of an obligation for it to act on this issue to ensure respect for the principles on the basis of which it was established. An act of aggression cannot go unpunished. The Security Council especially must no longer accept *faits accomplis*. It must reawaken its conscience, as is demanded by an outright act of aggression against a Member State.

89. Here, where too often the same arguments are developed to try to justify the most flagrant violation of principles which it is the duty of the Council to safeguard, it is no coincidence that Tel Aviv and Pretoria must both answer for offences of the same nature on a continent united, from north to south, in the same solidarity against two determined aggressors.

90. The commemoration of the foretieth anniversary of the United Nations is a unique opportunity for this re-awakening of conscience. We venture to believe that the opportunity will be grasped by the Council in the name of its mission of peace. What is at stake is its credibility and that of all we are celebrating today for a better world. To this end, we must first eliminate for ever the crimes of *apartheid* and of zionism.

91. The Council is in a position to affirm this primary necessity. It has in its hands its own prestige and that of the entire United Nations, of which it is the corrective arm. The crimes so often concealed or absolved here cannot serve its purpose.

92. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I welcome you, Sir, as President of the Security Council for this month and wish you success in the fulfilment of your responsible tasks. I should also like to thank your predecessor, the representative of the United Kingdom, for his highly skilled leadership of the work of the Council in September.

93. On behalf of the Soviet delegation I wish to thank you and all those who have expressed condolences in connection with the criminal kidnapping of four Soviet officials in Beirut and the killing of one of them.

94. Like the overwhelming majority of delegations in this chamber and outside it, the Soviet delegation learned with profound indignation of the aggression committed by Israel against yet another sovereign Arab country, Tunisia. We listened attentively to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, Mr. Caïd Essebsi [*2610th meeting*]. The facts he set forth demonstrated convincingly that what we are dealing with here is an act that Tel Aviv carefully planned and executed in cold blood, an act designed to undermine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a peace-loving, independent Member State.

95. The Soviet delegation expresses its profound condolences to the Government and people of Tunisia in connection with the civilian victims of this act. We were deeply impressed also by the statement of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah [*ibid.*], who was speaking on behalf of the Group of Arab States, and the leader of the Political Department and member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Farouk Qaddoumi [*ibid.*]

96. In these latest events, we see reflected as in a drop of water the essence of the policy pursued by Israel over almost four decades now against the Arab States and peoples. Whether we are talking of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, Iraq, Lebanon and now Tunisia, this signature of the Israeli aggressors everywhere remains the same. It is a cynical disregard for the fundamental provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the norms of international law and the resolutions of the United Nations, a studied undermining of the generally recognized bases for inter-State relations, the reliance on terror and naked force, and the complete absence of respect for elementary human rights, primarily for the inalienable right to life.

97. That is the unmistakable answer of the Israeli leaders to the repeated demands addressed to them resolutely by the international community, demands for them to put an end immediately to the policy of terror and aggression against the Arabs, to revise their obstructionist policy and to proceed along the path of a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East.

98. Israel has openly taken upon itself the right to use terror. The attitude of the Soviet Union to State terrorism and any other kind of terrorism is well known. We cannot fail to remind members of the Council that, at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, it was precisely the Soviet Union that submitted a draft resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority [*resolution 39/159*]. That resolution is highly applicable to the situation now under consideration by the Council. The events in Tunisia convincingly show that Tel Aviv not only is unwilling to heed the voice of reason but is deliberately hurling a challenge at the United Nations and the whole world community.

99. We would be failing to state the whole truth were we to pass over in silence the role of those who stand behind Israel. Were it not for their unlimited support and assistance, it would have long ago proved possible to call the aggressor to order. This time again, United States officials at the highest possible level have hastened to give Israel, as it were, an indulgence for the remission of its sins by declaring that they regarded yesterday's raid by Israel against the capital of Tunisia as a legitimate reaction to the actions of terrorists.

100. The question properly arises how one can reconcile the role of the United States as a permanent member of the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, with its unconditional support of even the most extreme manifestations of the adventurist policy of Israel. In the recent past there have been quite a few speeches made in Washington about the need to fight international terrorism; at the same time, it is difficult to find a clearer example of State terror elevated to the rank of a State policy than that which has for a long time been practised by Tel Aviv.

101. There is another quite important aspect to the present situation to which we must refer. With each passing year, the number of resolutions condemning Israel and demanding that it put an end to its aggressive policy has been constantly growing. Virtually all of them have remained unfulfilled. Such a state of affairs is intolerable, because it undermines the very foundations of the Organization. It is the firm conviction of the Soviet delegation that the collective duty of the Security Council is to guarantee the implementation by Israel of the decisions we have adopted, as required directly by the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter.

102. Only recently, on 26 September, a highly important meeting of the Security Council was held, in which the ministers and representatives of all 15 members of the Council took part [*2608th meeting*]. A great deal was said at that meeting about the need to enhance the effectiveness of this principal organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Yet we find that today, only a few days after that meeting, the Council is dealing with the consideration of a situation which it would seem should be exceedingly clear, namely, a wholly unprovoked attack on one of the States Members of the United Nations. One would have liked to hope that the Council would prove equal to the tasks before it. Otherwise, all the talk about enhancing its effectiveness may turn out to be just a hollow, empty sound.

103. The Soviet delegation resolutely condemns the attack of Israel against the capital of Tunisia and supports the fully justified appeal by Tunisia to the Security Council. We consider that the duty of the Council is not only resolutely to condemn the aggressor and demand from it reparations for the damages inflicted but also to take, at long last, measures in order to compel Israel to put an end to its adventurist policy, which is profoundly inimical to the interests of all peoples of the Middle East and the interests of international peace and security as a whole.

104. The Soviet Union once again expresses its solidarity with and support for the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli aggression and the intrigues of imperialism.

105. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, this is a distinguished body, but you bring added distinction to it. Although you did not begin as a career diplomat, you have had a wealth of experience and mostly at the highest levels that few professional diplomats possess. We shall all benefit from your wisdom.

106. I should like to add that, on behalf of Sir Geoffrey Howe and myself, I am most grateful to all for the kind things that have been said about our presidency.

107. It was with deep concern that my delegation heard the news of the attack carried out by the Israeli Air Force in Tunisian territory on 1 October. We have listened with attention and sympathy to the characteristically restrained statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia. We have also taken careful note of the public statements made by the Israeli Government in explanation of their action, including the eloquent statement just made by the representative of Israel. We have studied the facts of the case as they have become widely known. Our conclusion is that there can be no question but that the raid constitutes a serious violation of Tunisian sovereignty and that it has been the cause of the indiscriminate killing and wounding of many innocent civilians.

108. The United Kingdom has for many years enjoyed excellent and friendly relations with Tunisia. It is especially sad that this act of violence should have been directed against a country known for its peaceful and moderate stance in international relations and one which has consistently played an important and constructive part in the history of the Organization from its earliest years.

109. Tunisia deserves the support and solidarity of the entire international community in the face of the violation of its sovereignty. My Government offers this wholeheartedly. We also offer our deep sympathy to the Government and people of Tunisia who have been the victims of this outrage and to the families of those, both Tunisian and Palestinian, who have been killed or wounded in the raid.

110. The British Foreign Secretary in a statement yesterday expressed his understanding for the deep feelings of revulsion and anger in Israel at recent terrorist attacks. The United Kingdom's abhorrence of international terrorism is well known. My Government condemns any terrorist act anywhere in the world by whomsoever committed.

111. However, my delegation cannot accept as valid the reasons put forward by the Government of Israel for its action. States Members of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter, commit themselves to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. Arbitrary and disproportionate violence of this sort, even in retaliation, is in clear breach of this obligation. Moreover, we are not satisfied that the accusations levelled against the PLO concerning the deplorable murder of three Israeli citizens in Cyprus on 25 September are valid. We take note of the statement issued in Nicosia that day by the PLO which explicitly denied involvement and condemned the action. But even if there had been demonstrable responsibility by the PLO, this would not have justified the retaliation taken against Tunisia on 1 October.

112. In a statement issued yesterday [*S/17520*], the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Ten and of Spain and Portugal, meeting in the framework of European political co-operation, strongly condemned the bombardment by the Israeli air force of the headquarters of the PLO at Tunis, an act which violated the sovereignty of a friendly, peaceful and moderate country and which constitutes a further element in the cycle of violence and counter-violence in the Near East. While condemning equally the acts of terrorism committed against Israeli citizens, the Ministers were of the opinion that these did not justify such an action.

113. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ten and of Spain and Portugal went on to express the hope that this further escalation of violence would not undermine the efforts now under way aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution to the Arab/Israeli conflict. This is indeed an important point, with practical, long-term consequences. This year, hopes have been raised by first steps towards negotiations essential to the solution of the long-standing and bitter issues raised by the dispute. My Government from the start declared its warm support for King Hussein's courageous initiative, together with chairman Arafat, in proposing a path towards such negotiations.

114. It was in the hope of encouraging this process, which has already been delayed dangerously long, that the British Prime Minister announced at Aqaba on 20 September an invitation to two distinguished representatives of the PLO Executive Committee to visit London for a meeting with the British Foreign Secretary.

115. As Sir Geoffrey Howe said in his statement yesterday, the urgent need is to break the cycle of violence. My delegation urges all those who support efforts to resolve the Arab/Israeli dispute in a peaceful and just manner not to be deterred by this latest chapter in the unhappy history of violent reprisal. We call upon the Israeli Government and all the parties concerned to reaffirm their commitment to seeking a peaceful solution and to abstain completely from violent and provocative actions which imperil this objective.

116. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Mr. Isidoro Malmierca Peoli. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

117. Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): There have been many occasions on which this body, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has had to meet to consider Israel's repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab countries. To this long chain of victims of Zionist terror the Republic of Tunisia has today been added.

118. It was with genuine indignation that the international community, and, in particular, the non-aligned countries, received the news about the criminal and unjustified attack perpetrated by Israeli military forces against Tunisia, causing a large number of dead and wounded among the Tunisian and Palestinian civilian population and enormous material damage.

119. This flagrant violation of the rules of international law and of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations is all the more striking in view of the fact that this latest action by the Tel Aviv Government has been taken against a country whose peace-loving nature is universally recognized.

120. On many occasions my country has referred in the Council to the dangers to international peace and security posed by the fact that the Israeli leaders continue with impunity to attack neighbouring States and the Palestinian people. In drawing the attention of members of the Council to this problem, we have expounded the need for the Council to apply against Israel the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in the Charter, and in particular those contained in Chapter VII. Had the Council been able to carry out its responsibilities under the Charter, it might perhaps have been possible some time ago to stop the spiral of violence started by Israel and to create the conditions necessary for a just and lasting solution to the conflict of the Middle East and its root cause, the question of Palestine.

121. None the less, the Power that gives economic, military and diplomatic support to the Tel Aviv Government, and parades its "strategic alliance" with that Government, is directly responsible for the deadlock in the Council and, therefore, for the continuation of Tel Aviv's aggressive actions.

122. In fact, just a few weeks ago, on 13 September [*2605th meeting*], the representative of the United States vetoed once again a draft resolution, moderate in tone, which the non-aligned members of the Council had submitted and which deplored the repressive measures taken by Israel against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories and requesting an immediate cessation of those measures [*S/17459*].

123. The unconditional support for Israeli policies and practices given by the United States Government explains the fact that the Security Council is obliged to meet time and again to consider actions such as that carried out yesterday against the peaceful Republic of Tunisia.

124. Tunisia, in fulfilment of its duty of solidarity with the Palestinian resistance and with the heroic struggle of its Palestinian brothers, welcomed in its capital its sole and legitimate representatives, the leaders and cadres of the Palestine Liberation Organization, thus arousing the ire of the Israeli Zionist régime. Yesterday's act of aggression, aimed mainly against Palestinians, also had the objective of punishing Tunisia for its worthy and fraternal attitude in defence of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

125. With unparalleled cynicism, the White House spokesman described as legitimate that act of international piracy, worthy of Nazi Germany. Such an affirmation is plainly and simply to sanctify terrorism as an international practice. This comes as no surprise to us. The present United States administration advocates the carrying out of similar "surgical strikes" against Nicaragua and other independent States, while the arrogant attacks and interference that violate the sovereignty of peoples have been the corner-stones of its imperialist policy from the days of Monroe to the present.

126. We may well wonder in this case, in view of the prompt and open support that Israeli aggression has been given by the United States Government, whether the strategic alliance was not in operation here as well, providing the aggressors with logistical, intelligence or other support for the attack on the Republic of Tunisia.

127. The Government of the United States should be made to understand that it cannot continue to violate the spirit of the Charter by using the rule of unanimity to impede the action of the United Nations and to cast a protective cloak over the misdeeds of its Israeli allies.

128. We hope that the Council will be able to fulfil its responsibilities as the guardian of international peace and security and that it will adopt the appropriate measures which, according to the Charter, are called for by that

unjustified aggression against a State Member. In addition, Israel must be required to pay proper compensation to the Republic of Tunisia and to the Palestinian population for the loss of life and the material damages caused by this brazen attack.

129. Lastly, I should like to express our most heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of Tunisia, as well as to the Palestinian people, through its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, for the irreparable loss of life. At the same time I reaffirm the unswerving solidarity of the people and Government of Cuba.

130. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

131. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your abilities as a statesman of integrity anxious to see justice prevail over force were familiar to us even before you came here. I am sure that under your presidency our work will be crowned with success. In any case, my delegation is very pleased to see you presiding over the Security Council at this crucial moment.

132. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey our sincere congratulations to your predecessor, Sir John Thomson, representative of the United Kingdom, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council in September.

133. Finally, I should like to thank all the members of the Council for allowing me to take part once again in the debate on the situation in the Middle East.

134. The whole of Africa was deeply distressed to learn of the Israeli aggression against Tunisia—a friend, a brother and, moreover, a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

135. As soon as he learned of the act of aggression against Tunisia, the President of the Republic of Senegal and current Chairman of the OAU, Mr. Abdou Diouf, addressed messages to Mr. Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia, and to Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

136. Before going into my statement, I should like, with the Council's permission, to read these messages. The first is addressed to President Bourguiba:

> "I have just learned with surprise and consternation, while on my way to the front-line States in my capacity as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), of the violation by Israel of your country's sovereignty and territorial integrity through its bombing of Palestinian camps situated in the suburbs of Tunis.
>
> "This barbarous raid has caused numerous casualties among innocent victims and significant material damage.
>
> "On this distressing occasion, I should like to express to you my active solidarity and that of the Senegalese people.
>
> "We strongly condemn this savage act, which violates all the principles of international law and also those of the Charter of the United Nations to which the Jewish State has, however, acceded.
>
> "In my capacity as current Chairman of the OAU, I should also like to express to you the sense of shock felt by Africa, and our unreserved support in these most trying circumstances.
>
> "Let Israel, which is no longer troubled by the condemnation of the international community, know that all of Africa is on Tunisia's side and strongly castigates its action, which is frankly unworthy of our day and age." [*S/17559, annex I.*]

The second message is addressed to chairman Arafat:

> "In its blind frenzy against the Palestinian people, Israel has, by its deadly and senseless bombing of Palestinian refugee camps in the suburbs of Tunis, once again perpetrated an act of deliberate murder against innocent civilian populations.
>
> "I should like to express to you on this painful occasion my deep sympathy, total support and active solidarity, and that of the Senegalese people.
>
> "Senegal strongly condemns this blatant act of aggression which tramples underfoot the rights of individuals and the Charter of the United Nations at a time when the international community is preparing to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the entry into force of the document adopted at San Francisco.
>
> "In my capacity as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, I should also like to reiterate to you the solidarity of Africa which, like the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) against Israel, is waging a struggle for the freedom and dignity of its people.
>
> "Through me, Africa expresses to you its unswerving support for the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the independent and sovereign Palestinian people." [*Ibid., annex II.*]

137. Exactly one week ago, the Security Council held a commemorative meeting [*2608th meeting*] at which distinguished ministers and representatives of the countries members of the Council unanimously renewed their collective commitment to work for the maintenance of international peace and security—decisive factors for the realization of the theme we have set ourselves: the United Nations for a better world. Today's meeting seems to be a test of that collective commitment.

138. My country has always condemned terrorism, whatever its source and whatever its purported justification. The cycles of violence we are now witnessing derive their origins, we must acknowledge, from the fact that the question of the Middle East has not been solved. In that regard,

my country has constantly emphasized that the question of Palestine, which is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East, cannot be solved unless a just and lasting solution to the question of the Middle East is found. That will be the best way to eliminate the tension and violence which we are witnessing today and which endanger international peace and security.

139. This is the second time in less than a month that the Council has met to consider steps taken by Israeli forces against the Palestinian population. At the Council meeting on 13 September [*2605th meeting*] which dealt with the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, I emphasized, on behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, that the question of Palestine had now reached a critical phase, and I urged the members of the Council to redouble their efforts to find a just and lasting solution to that question. I also expressed my conviction that the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, which enjoys virtually unanimous support, provided all the interested parties with enormous possibilities for participation in the negotiations, which should lead to a just and lasting solution. I also appealed to the Council to take the appropriate measures to revive, on the basis of the principles and purposes of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the policy of sincere dialogue between all the parties.

140. With the passage of time and in response to the growing pressures from various quarters in support of a just and lasting peace in the region, we would have thought that Israel would show greater wisdom and greater moderation. Far from it, alas: in view of what has just happened, it seems Israel has chosen fire power over negotiations. Tragically for the Palestinian people and for the Middle East, if not for the international community as a whole, the cycle of violence continues. Earlier speakers have already given the details of the unprovoked armed attack by Israel against the headquarters of the PLO at Tunis—that is, 2,500 kilometres from Israel's borders—which, according to the Israelis, left at least 50 dead and more than 50 injured, Palestinians and Tunisians, women and children as well.

141. Whatever official explanations the Government of Israel may give, there can be no doubt that Israel has once again committed a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State. This act is indefensible under international law and runs wholly counter to the quest for a peaceful solution to the Middle East question, and particularly to the Palestine question. The international community must therefore firmly condemn such reprisals beyond international boundaries. We offer our solidarity to Tunisia, a sister country and also a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and to the PLO.

142. Senegal is most deeply concerned at the possibility that this kind of raid may be repeated in the future, as has happened all too often in the past. So long as the international community fails to show the political will and determination needed to tackle the underlying cause of the Middle East problem, namely, the unacceptable fate of the Palestinian people and the full exercise of their inalienable rights in accordance with United Nations resolutions, we shall continue to be confronted by such violence.

143. We strongly urge Israel to renounce these practices and to respect the internationally recognized principles and decisions of the Council, to associate itself with others in a process of peace capable of doing justice to the rights of the Palestinian people and leading to a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem, in all its aspects.

144. The question is what should be done in this fortieth anniversary year of the United Nations, at a time when Member States are seeking to reaffirm the role and authority of the United Nations and of the Council in regard to the non-use of force in international relations and other principles of international law. My country feels that it is up to the Council to make sure that Israel at long last takes account of its obligations under international law and the Charter and resolutions and decisions of the Organization designed to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

145. For that reason, we urge the Council to implement the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the recommendations unanimously adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, which have been endorsed several times by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the General Assembly. We repeat once again that these recommendations are solidly based on internationally recognized fundamental principles relating to the Palestinian problem, the very core of the Arab/Israeli conflict.

146. As it happens, the commemorative meeting of the Security Council was presided over by a permanent member of the Council, and it also happens that this Council meeting that is being held on the heels of that commemorative meeting is presided over by another permanent member of the Council. This reminds me of the statement made by the late Paul-Henri Spaak, the first President of the General Assembly, in London in January in 1946. In that statement he addressed himself to the great Powers, and I should like to conclude my statement by quoting what he said:

> "At San Francisco opposing conceptions were apparent. One system has triumphed, a system which confers considerable importance upon the great Powers. That system must now be accepted, and I am sure I am speaking for the great majority of the representatives when I say to the great Powers, whose will prevailed at San Francisco, that we attach the utmost importance to a good understanding among them and that it is from their agreement and collaboration that we expect success in our work, security and a lasting peace."[2]

147. Forty years later, I think that that appeal is more valid than ever. As we enter a new era, having reached the

fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, a call is once again made to our conscience, and thereby that of the great Powers. That awareness is in fact an appeal to the great Powers entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in the world to do their utmost to find a felicitous and lasting solution to the burning problems before the Organization. I am absolutely sure that that appeal by Paul-Henri Spaak is still alive in our minds and that it will be taken account of by the Council during its deliberations.

148. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, whom I welcome. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

149. Mr. YAQUB KHAN (Pakistan): May I extend to you, Sir, my warm felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of October. Your great country shares a momentous responsibility for the maintenance of international peace, and, being a close friend, Pakistan has great expectations of the United States as a promoter of peace and a pioneer in world progress. I am confident that your acknowledged experience in diplomacy and your statesmanship will ensure successful stewardship of the important work of the Council this month.

150. I further take this opportunity to congratulate Sir Geoffrey Howe and Sir John Thomson on the excellent manner in which they guided the work of the Council during the course of the past month.

151. Four days ago, King Hussein of Jordan elaborated a blueprint for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in his important address to the General Assembly.[1] His eloquent advocacy of peace and his offer of concrete proposals for a just settlement revived hopes that the concomitant issues of Palestine and the Middle East might finally begin evolving towards a just and comprehensive settlement.

152. That optimism now lies buried in the debris of the premises of the PLO at Tunis, razed to the ground by the outrageous Israeli attack which caused the tragic loss of scores of innocent Tunisian and Palestinian lives. The Government and people of Pakistan condemn the attack in the strongest terms and extend their condolences to its victims. We renew our pledge of solidarity with the people and Government of Tunisia and with the Palestinians and their representative, the PLO.

153. The Israeli attack was an act of stark terrorism brazenly committed with the arrogance of a State blinded by vengeance and spurred on by unbridled expansionist ambitions. It was a premeditated and organized attack, launched by Israel without provocation 2,500 kilometres away from its borders, against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Tunisia, whose adherence to a policy of peace has been beyond question. The Israeli crime is compounded by the fact that Israel arrogates to itself the right to attack any State, at any time and under any circumstances, to protect its arbitrarily conceived self-interest.

154. The gravest aspect of the Israeli attack was undoubtedly Israel's underlying motive to destroy the recently improved prospects of peace in the Middle East. The choice of timing for the attack, when important proposals for negotiations involving the Palestinians were taking shape, is no coincidence. Nervous about the implications of a peace built on recognition of Palestinian rights, Israel has shown a clear preference for uncertainty and chaos so that it may resort to the use of force at will and keep the Palestinian people deprived of their legitimate national rights.

155. The Israeli attack was illegal on all counts, and cannot be legitimized on the basis of any legal or moral criteria. As Israel's principal ally, the United States has a special role to play in rectifying the situation created by the Israeli refusal to respect the imperatives of peace in the area. Decisive action by the United States to ensure the fruition of current Arab initiatives for peace and to promote the United Nations proposal for a peace conference is necessary in order to dispel the shadow cast by the Israeli action on the prospects for peace in the Middle East.

156. Pakistan desires to see the Security Council exercise the authority vested in it by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and impose mandatory sanctions against Israel to curb its defiance of the principles of the Charter and the Council's decisions. Given the limitations of the Council, however, the least we expect from it is that it take a position of principle condemning the illegal and unprovoked Israeli attack against the sovereignty and independence of Tunisia and adopt a decision to prevent its recurrence and to promote the Arab initiatives for peace, especially those within the United Nations context. The victims of the Israeli attack also deserve to be fully compensated.

157. The Security Council has a sacred obligation to bring about a just solution of the Palestine issue. It was the United Nations decision to partition Palestine 38 years ago that created the State of Israel. Now it is for the Council to ensure that the Palestinians, who remain deprived of their legitimate national rights, are enabled to regain their rightful place among the comity of nations, with a State of their own in Palestine.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Plenary Meetings.* 12th meeting.

[2] *Official Records of the General Assembly, First part of first session, Plenary Meetings.* 2nd meeting, p. 49.

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